

INCOMING TELEGRAM

## Department of State

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Action

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Info

FROM: BONN

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TO: Secretary of State

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NO: 1021, NOVEMBER 12, 7 PM

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SENT DEPARTMENT 1021, USAREUR 219 REPEATED INFORMATION LONDON 176, PARIS 268, MOSCOW 97, USBERLIN 259.

ALL PARTIES REACTING FIRMLY AGAINST KHRUSHCHEV SPEECH RE BERLIN, AND WARMLY APPROVE WEST RESPONSES. THERE IS APPREHENSION ABOUT FURTHER CONSEQUENCES AND MUCH SPECULATION ABOUT SOVIET MOTIVATION.

SPEECH CREATED GENERAL UNEASE IN CDU FACTION AND WAS PRINCIPAL SUBJECT ITS MEETING YESTERDAY AFTERNOON. PARTY LEADERS (CHANCELLOR AND BRENTANO ABSENT) TOOK LINE THAT SOVIET INTENTIONS NOT RPT NOT YET CLEAR AND SPEECH SERIOUS MATTER BUT NOT RPT NOT REASON FOR FRIGHT OR EXAGGERATED REACTION. GERSTENMAIER SAID FED GOVT'S REACTION MUST BE NEITHER TOO STRONG NOR TOO WEAK AND PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY LAY WITH THREE POWERS WHOSE STATEMENT MOST HEARTILY WELCOMED BY FACTION. GERSTENMAIER SAID KHRUSHCHEV SPEECH THREATENED BASIS FEDREP'S DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW. TO PRESS AFTER MEETING RASNER, PARTY WHIP, MADE SPECIAL POINT THAT NOBODY CDU NOW THINKING OF BREACH OF RELATIONS BUT THSES HAVE REACHED TIME LOW POINT WITH KHRUSHCHEV SPEECH. KIESINGER EXPRESSED VIE. THAT SPEECH IS ANOTHER STEP IN SOVIET TACTICS TO ACHIEVE ATOMIC DISARMAMENT OF FEDREP BY WARNING WESTERN PARTNERS OF DANGERS OF REARMED GERMANY AND COMMUNIST POTENTIAL FOR PUTTING PRESSURE ON BERLIN. HE TOOK POSITION SPEECH SHOULD HAVE NO RPT NO EFFECT ON TIMING OR SUBSTANCE REPLY TO SOV NOTE OF SEPT, 18 ALTHOUGH PARTY AND GOVT SHOULD MAKE RESOLUTE PUBLIC RESPONSE TO SPEECH. GERSTE NMAIER HAD SAID EARLIER IN MEETING SPEECH WOULD AFFECT THINKING ABOUT NOTE AN KIESINGER SAID PRIVATELY TODAY, IN A REMARKABLE ABOUT FACE, THAT KHRUSHCHEV'S SPEECH WOULD PUT AN END TO GERSTE NMAIER'S "FOOL IDEAS" ABOUT PEACE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS.

BEFORE

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BEFORE MEETING GRADL SAID PRIVATELY HIS REPORTS FROM BERLIN INDICATED UNUSUAL NERVOUSNESS AND THAT HE FEARED A GDR BLOCKAGE NOW WOULD PRESENT OVERWHELMING PROBLEMS, DESPITE LEMMER'S STRONG STATEMENT. (LEMMER HAD SAID TO PRESS IN BERLIN KHRUSHCHEV'S SPEECH WAS ONLY SOVIET MANEUVER BUILDING UP TO A SUMMIT MEETING, THAT SOVS WOULD NOT UNILATERALLY ABROGATE AGREEMENTS, AND THAT SPEECH WOULD BE TAKEN CALMLY IN AND OUTSIDE BERLIN.) GRADL SAID SPD WOULD DO WELL NOW TO STOP TALK OF MOVING GOVT TO BERLIN AND GIVING BERLIN DEPUTIES VOTING RIGHTS. LATTER POINT TAKEN UP IN MEETING AND BY GENERAL CONSENT CDU LEADERS WILL URGE BRANDT TO STOP TALKING ABOUT THIS PUBLICLY IN ORDER NOT RPT NOT WEAKEN BERLIN'S FOUR POWER STATUS. GRADL AND CDU GENERALLY APPALLED AT SPD REACTION THAT SPEECH MADE IT IMPERATIVE TO GET ON WITH SUCH PLANS.

MOST DEPUTIES FAMILIAR ONLY WITH PART OF SPEECH PERTAINING TO BERLIN. NONE IN CDU BELIEVE SOVIETS WOULD PRESS CURRENT CAMPAIGN TO POINT WHERE USE OF FORCE POSSIBLE. ON OTHER HAND THEY THINK IT TOO MASSIVE AN ATTACK TO BE AIMED ONLY AT INFLUENCING BERLIN ELECTIONS OR MAKING ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES THERE. THEY BELIEVE IT WILL WORK TO BENEFIT OF CDU IN ALL CURRENT LAND ELECTION CAMPAIGNS. PARTICULARLY PREVALENT IS VIEW THAT SPEECH IS CONSISTENT WITH ALL EFFORTS TO SUPPORT ULBRICHT AND STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL POSITION GDR, AND THAT IT IS RELATED TO A NEW TURN IN SOVIET-POLISH RELATIONS AWAY FROM GOMULKA'S REVISIONISM.

FOR SPD MOMMER AND WEHNER COMMENTED PUBLICLY ON KHRUSHCHEV SPEECH. MOMMER SAID NEW SOVIET MOVE STARTED WITH SECRETARY DULLES' REMARK LINKING QUEMOY AND BERLIN. THIS TAKEN UP BY ULBRICHT AND NOW BY KHRUSHCHEV. ACTUALLY LATTER HAD NOT RPT NOT ANNULLED AGREEMENT AND NOT RPT NOT ACTUALLY THREATENED BERLIN. WHAT SOVIET UNION APPARENTLY WANTED WAS TRANSFER ITS RIGHT AND OBLIGATIONS TO GDR, THUS HOPING GET RECOGNITION GDR, AND THEIR ULTIMATE AIM WAS MAKE WESTERN POWERS LEAVE BERLIN. ARGUMENTS USED BY SOVIETS WERE HYPOCRITICAL AND UNFOUNDED. PRESENCE WESTERN ALLIES BERLIN MUST BE SEEN IN CONNECTION THEIR WITHDRAWAL FROM THURINGIA AND MECKLENBURG. BERLIN STATUS DID NOT REST ON POSDAM AGREEMENT. ALSO, BERLIN STATUS REAFFIRMED 1949 BY SOVIET GOVERNMENT. AS FAR AS ALLEGED MILITARIZATION WAS CONCERNED BOTH SIDES HAD WHIPSAWED EACH OTHER TO PRESENT ARMAMENT RACE. CHARGE SABOTAGE AND ESPIONAGE SHOWED NEED ALWAYS SUPPORTED BY SPD THAT BERLIN MAY NOT BECOME THE PLAYGROUND FOR THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES OF THE GREAT POWERS.

WHAT NECESSARY

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WHAT NECESSARY NOW WAS INTENSIFY EFFORTS TO MAKE BERLIN CAPITAL AND THE SPD-FDP MOTION TO THAT EFFECT SHOULD BE DISCUSSED URGENTLY. MANY DETAILED QUESTIONS WOULD HAVE TO BE TREATED IN COMMITTEE BUT ONE COULD START WITH REBUILDING OLD REICHSTAG AND PROVIDE BUNDESTAG WITH PERMANENT HOME. IN INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IT WAS MOST IMPORTANT THAT LINK BETWEEN BERLIN AND QUEMOY BE ELIMINATED. (NUMBER OF CDU DEPUTIES HAVE SAID TODAY HOW RIGHT SECRETARY WAS TO DRAW ANALOGY WHICH AT TIME THEY HAD THOUGHT UNFORTUNATE).

WEHNER SPOKE OF KHRUSHCHEV'S REMARKS RE TRANSFERRING CONTROL OF EAST BERLIN TO SOVIET ZONE GOVERNMENT AS NONSENSE. RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS POSSESSED BY FOUR POWERS COULD NOT RPT NOT BE UNILATERALLY DIVIDED, RENOUNCED AND TRANSFERRED TO A GERMAN REGIME FORMED BY SOVIETS. ONLY FOUR POWERS TOGETHER COULD MAKE AGREEMENTS CONCERNING CHANGING BERLIN'S STATUS. WHOEVER TRIED TO BRING ABOUT UNILATERAL CHANGE OF BERLIN AGREEMENTS FAVORING THE GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED IN ONE PART OF GERMANY, WOULD ONLY CREATE ADDITIONAL COMPLICATIONS MAKING MUCH MORE DIFFICULT A SOLUTION OF GERMAN QUESTION.

MENDE OF FDP IS REPORTED AS SAYING IT "LEGALLY IMPOSSIBLE" TO CANCEL INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS UNILATERALLY. HELLWEGE OF DP MADE SAME POINT AND ADDED USSR DAMAGED ITS INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION BY SUGGESTING SUCH ABROGATION.

DEPUTIES ALL PARTIES RESENTFUL OF REMARK ATTRIBUTED TO SMIRNOV THAT SPEECH IS NATURAL CONSEQUENCE OF "PROVOCATIVE" BUNDESTAG RESOLUTION BERLIN OCTOBER 1.

ABOVE COMMENTS ALL MADE BEFORE GROTEWOHL PRESS CONFERENCE NOW HERE.

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